

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 PARIS 01447 01 OF 02 161625Z

42

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W
----- 000446

O R 161500Z JAN 76
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6892
INFO AMEMBASSY LISBON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MADRID IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ROME IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 PARIS 1447

EXDIS

E.O.11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR,PINT, FR, IT, PO, XH
SUBJECT: HELSINGOR MEETING OF EUROPEAN SOCIALISTS

REF: A. STATE 7807; B. STATE 8296 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY. POLITICAL COUNSELOR, ACCOMPANIED BY EMBOFF, CALLED ON PS SECRETARY FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS ROBERT PONTILLON JANUARY 14 TO MAKE DEMARCHE ALONG LINES OF REF B. PONTILLON RESPONDED THAT OUR DEMARCHE CAME AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF TWO FUNDAMENTAL REASSURANCES WHICH MITTERRAND HAD GIVEN TO THE SECRETARY DURING THEIR MEETING IN WAHSINGTON: THE PS BELIEVES FRANCE SHOULD REMAIN IN NATO AND THAT FRANCE SHOULD CONTINUE TO SEEK EUROPEAN INTERGRATION. PONTILLON ALSO CONFIRMED RUMORS WE HAVE HEARD FROM TIME TO TIME THAT THE PS HAS ALREADY TOLD GISCARD THAT IT WILL SUPPORT A GOVERNMENT BILL CALLING FOR POPULAR ELECTIONS TO A EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT. AS A BASIC BACKGROUND TO HIS RESPONSE, PONTILLON SAID THAT THE GUARANTEES THE US SEEKS WOULD BE MORE VALUABLE IF EUROPEANS WERE CONVINCED THAT EUROPEAN AFFAIRS WERE A PRIIMARY INTEREST TO THE USG RATHER THAN BEING A "BY-PRODUCT OF A PRIVILEGED RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE US AND THE USSR." END SUMMARY.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 PARIS 01447 01 OF 02 161625Z

1. GENERAL BACKGROUND: POLITICAL COUNSELOR, NOTING

THAT COMMUNISTS OF WESTERN AND SOUTHERN EUROPE HAVE NOT ACCEPTED THE CLOSE TRANS-ATLANTIC COOPERATION WHICH HAS BEEN SUCH AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN OUR SECURITY SINCE 1945, MADE DEMARCHE ALONG LINES OF REF B TO PONTILLON, WHO GREETED THE DEMARCHE WITH UNUSUAL COOLNESS. STATING THAT THE PS HAS NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT THE NATURE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY (PCF)N PONTILLON ARGUED THAT THE PS DOES NOT BELIEVE THAT CHANGE IN THE PCF CAN NOW BE CONSIDERED DEFINITIVE, SAID THAT HIS PARTY WOULD CONTINUE TO KEEP PRESSURE ON THE PCF AND THAT THE FRENCH PS/PCF ALLIANCE IS A FUNCTION OF THE PARTICULAR ELECTORAL CIRCUMSTANCES CURRENTLY EXISTING IN FRANCE.

2. ITALY: WE URGED PONTILLON TO ENCOURAGE RESPONSIBLE ACTION ON THE PART OF ITALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY (PSI) LEADER DE MARTINO, AND ARGUED THAT PSI SUPPORT FOR THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS IN THE CRITICAL PRE-ELECTION PERIOD COULD BE USEFUL IN CUTTING BACK ITALIAN COMMUNISTS (PCI) IN THE 1977 LEGISLATIVES. PONTILLON RESPONDED BY EXPRESSING HIS BELIEF THAT DE MARTINO HAS NOT BEEN WELL UNDERSTOOD BY MOST OF HIS CRITICS. RATHER THAN ACTING IRRESPONSIBLY TO BRING DOWN THE COALITION DE MARTINO, BY PULLING OUT OF THE GOVERNMENTN WAS SERVING NOTICE ON BOTH THE DC AND THE PCI THAT BOTH OF THESE PARTIES WOULD HAVE TO HONOR THEIR COMMITMENTS. WITH RESPECT TO THE DC, DE MARTINO HAS LONG FELT THAT THE PSI HAS BEEN PUT IN THE SITUATION OF SUPPLEMENTARY FORCE WHOSE VOTES HAVE BEEN COUNTED ON THE KEEP THE GOVERNMENT ALIVE BUT WHOSE PROGRAM AND ANALYSES HAVE BEEN TOTALLY DISREGARDED. PONTILLON WENT ON TO SAY THAT THE PCI, IN THE MIDST OF THE PSI'S TRAVAIL, HAS BEEN ABLE TO PLAY BOTH ENDS AGAINST THE MIDDLE: WHILE GAINING THE FRUITS OF THE HISTORIC COMPROMISE, THE PCI HAS BEEN ABLE TO CRITICIZE-- AND GAIN VOTES FROM-- THE PSI FOR BEING IN THE GOVERNMENT. NOW, WITH THE GOVERNMENT IN CRISIS, DE MARTINO WILL BE ABLE TO DEMAND AND GET "GURANTEES OF GOOD CONDUCT" FROM BOTH PCI AND DC. IN ANY CASE, PONTILLON CONCLUDED WHILE THE PS HAS NO OBJECTION TO PSI WORKING WITH THE DC, USG PRESSURE WOULD BE BETTER APPLIED TO THE DC THAN TO THE FRENCH SOCIALISTS.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 PARIS 01447 01 OF 02 161625Z

3. SPAIN-- "NO IMPORTANT ANXIETIES": POLITICAL COUNSELOR STRESSED IMPORTANCE OF SUPPORT AT THIS CRITICAL JUNCTURE FOR THE KING AND HIS CABINET AND NOTED THAT EXCESSIVE AND IRRESPONSIBLE SUPPORT BY THE SPANISH SOCIALISTS FOR THEIR COMMUNIST COUNTERPARTS' DEMANDS COULD CREATE EXCESSIVE POLARIZATION WITHIN SPANISH SOCIETY. A VIGILANT SPANISH SOCIALIST PARTY (PSOE),

PONTILLON SAID, HAS ALREADY GIVEN THE FRENCH PL AMPLE
REASON TO BELIEVE THAT IT FULLY UNDERSTANDS THE STALINIST

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 PARIS 01447 02 OF 02 161619Z

42

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
----- 000375

O 161500Z JAN 76

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6893

INFO AMEMBASSY LISBON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MADRID IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ROME IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T FINAL SECTION OF 02 PARIS 1447

EXDIS

NATURE OF THE SPANISH COMMUNISTS(PCE). WHILE PCE
LEADERS MAY BE ABLE TO TAKE A "SOFT" LINE FOR EXTERNAL
CONSUMPTION, THE PSOE FULLY UNDERSTANDS THAT THE VARIOUS
CELLS IN THE COUNTRY ARE "AS STALINIST AS THE PORTUGUESE
COMMUNISTS." HOWEVER, BOTH THE FRENCH PS AND THE PSOE
BELIEVE THAT THE PCE SHOULD BE RECOGNIZED AS A LEGITIMATE
PARTY AND SHOULD BE TAKEN INTO ANY EVENTUAL "POLITICAL"
GOVERNMENT. OTHERWISE, HE ARGUED, THE PCE WOULD BE ABLE
TO CREATE FAR TOO MUCH MISCHIEF WHILE AVOIDING ANY
RESPONSIBILITY. ASKED ABOUT HIS PARTY'S VIEWS ON THE
EVOLUTION OF SPANISH INTEGRATION ONTO EUROPE AND PS/PSOE
SUPPORT FOR JUAN CARLOS, PONTILLON SAID THAT WHILE BOTH
THE SPANISH AND THE FRENCH SOCIALISTS BELIEVE THAT A
FAVORABLE EVOLUTION HAS TAKEN PLACE IN SPAIN, AT SOME
POINT THERE WILL HAVE TO BE A CLEAN BREAK WITH THE PAST.
FURTHER, HE SAID, " WE WILL NOT ACCEPT ADMITTING SPAIN
INTO EUROPE UNLESS THERE ARE HARD GUARANTEES FOR CIVIL
AND POLITICAL LIBERTIES IN THE COUNTRY."

4. PORTUGAL - "BETTER WITHIN THAN WITHOUT": EMBASSY
DEMARCHÉ EMPHASIZED IMPORTANCE OF AVOIDING LEGITIMIZA-
TION OF SOUTHERN EUROPEAN COMMUNISTS THROUGH AN EIGHT-
PARTY CONFERENCE. POLITICAL COUNSELOR ALSO URGED CONTIN-

UED PS EFFORTS TO CONVINCE SOARES THAT SUPPORT FOR
MODERATE ELEMENTS IN PORTUGAL WOULD BE BENEFICIAL TO
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 PARIS 01447 02 OF 02 161619Z

HIS PARTY. PONTILLON REPLIED THAT PORTUGUESE SOCIALISTS (PSP) BELIEVE THE VARIOUS COMMUNIST PARTIES OF SOUTHERN EUROPE HAVE MORE TO LOSE FROM A CONFERENCE OF SOUTHERN EUROPE SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST PARTIES THAN DO THE SOCIALISTS FAR FROM "LEGITIMIZING" THE COMMUNISTS, SUCH A CONFERENCE, BECAUSE IT WOULD "PUT INTO EVIDENCE THE REAL BALANCE OF FORCES", WOULD MAKE THE VARIOUS COMMUNIST FORMATIONS REALIZE JUST HOW MUCH THEY ARE-- AND ARE BECOMING-- DEPENDANT ON THE SOCIALISTS. ON THE INTERNAL PORTUGUESE SITUATION, PONTILLON NOTED PSP BELIEFS THAT IT WOULD BE LESS DAMAGING TO HAVE THE COMMUNISTS IN ANY GOVERNMENT THAN TO HAVE THEM OUTSIDE THE GOVERNMENT. SOARES KNOWS AND HAS TOLD MITTERAND, PONTILLON SAID, THAT AUSTERITY MEASURES WILL BE THE FIRST ORDER OF BUSINESS FOR ANY PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT; A PCF FREE OF ALL GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITY WOULD BE "TOTALLY INSENSITIVE TO THE INTERNAL CONTRADICTIONS" OF SUCH MEASURES.

5. SECURITY AND EUROPEAN ISSUES: AFTER WE HAD MADE STATEMENT ON SECURITY ISSUES (NOTED IN PARA 1 ABOVE,) PONTILLON TWICE REPEATED THAT THE PS CONTINUE TO STAND ON THE TWO ASSURANCES GIVEN TO THE SECRETARY BY MITTERAND NOVEMBER 25. THE PS CONTINUES TO SUPPORT FRENCH MEMBERSHIP IN NATO AND WOULD NOT ENVISAGE ANY CHANGE IN THIS POLICY "REGARDLESS OF THE MUTTERINGS OF A FEW HOTHEADS." NOR, HE WENT ON, WILL THE PS EVER RENEGE ON ITS COMMITMENT TO A UNITED EUROPE. AS A GAGE OF ITS SINCERITY, THE PS HAS ALREADY TOLD GISCARD (THROUGH UNSPECIFIED INTERMEDIARIES) THAT IT WILL SUPPORT A GOVERNMENT BILL ALLOWING FOR POPULAR ELECTIONS TO A EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT. ONE HELPFUL STEP IN SUPPORTING THIS PS POSITION, PONTILLON SAID, WOULD BE MORE EVIDENCE THAT THE USG IS REALLY INTERESTED IN THE VITAL EUROPEAN ISSUES; TOO OFTEN THE PS HAS HAD THE IMPRESSION THAT US/EUROPEAN RELATIONS ARE THE BY-PRODUCT OF A PRIVILEGED DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE US AND THE SOVIET UNION.

6. SOUTHERN SOCIALIST MOODS ON THE EVE OF HELSINKI:
PONTILLON BELIEVES THAT THE ITALIAN, SPANISH, PORTUGUESE AND FRENCH SOCIALIST PARTIES ARE ALL AWARE OF THE NEED
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 PARIS 01447 02 OF 02 161619Z

TO AVOID SANCTIONING THEIR COUNTERPART COMMUNIST PARTIES.
FOR A SOUTHERN SOCIALIST PARTY TO SUCCEED IT NEEDS THE
HELP OF CERTAIN ELEMENTS TODAY FOUND IN THE COMMUNIST
AND CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTIES. WHILE IT IS EASY FOR
OUTSIDE CRITICS TO COMPLAIN THAT SEEKING SUCH HELP GIVES
TOO MUCH LEGITIMACY TO THE COMMUNISTS, THE SOUTHERN
SOCIALISTS WANT CHANGEN SEE NO HOPE THAT IT WILL EVER
COME FORM THE RIGHT AND CENTER AND ARE THUS OBLIGED TO
SEEK ALLIANCE WITH THE COMMUNISTS IF THERE IS TO BE ANY
"PROFOUND TRANSFORMATION" OF SOUTHERN EUROPEAN SOCIETY.
BUT THIS POLITICAL ANALYSIS WILL NEVER MEAN, PONTILLON
SAID, THAT SOUTHERN SOCIALISTS ARE WILLING TO ACCEPT
COMMUNIST LOGIC.

7. DCM WILL SEE PONTILLON FRIDAY, JANUARY 16, FOR
FURTHER DISCUSSION OF SECURITY ISSUES.
RUSH

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: SOCIALISM, MEETING DELEGATIONS, PARTY MEETINGS, POLITICAL LEADERS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 16 JAN 1976
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: CunninFX
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976PARIS01447
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760017-0349
From: PARIS
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760149/aaaabrj.tel
Line Count: 241
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: 76 STATE 7807, 76 STATE 8296
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: CunninFX
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 21 APR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <21 APR 2004 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <13 AUG 2004 by CunninFX>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: HELSINGOR MEETING OF EUROPEAN SOCIALISTS
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, FR, IT, PO, XH
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006